THE WORKERS'

DREADNOUGHT

Socialism, Internationalism, Votes for All.

Vol. IV.—No. 34 SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 17th, 1917 Price One Penny

ON BEING IN PRISON: By P. J. Dollan

GUARD-ROOM EXPERIENCES

When I was in prison I found the majority of soldiers and warders with whom I came in contact sympathetic to Pacifism; and, on the whole, kindly disposed towards the conscientious objector. During the four months in which I was under the control of soldiers and warders I never experienced an unkind word from any of them regarding my views; and on no occasion did I experience an unkind act. Both soldiers and warders who came within my sphere carried out their duties fairly and never abused their position. Many of them professed detestation of the duties they had to perform, and at least two soldiers apologised for having to enforce certain orders restricting my movements while under their control. I think it necessary to record these points, so as to make it clear that there are soldiers and warders who do not bully conscientious objectors, but treat them humanely and with respect.

The period I spent as a military prisoner was certainly full of happy incidents, and enabled me to get a little first-hand knowledge of soldiers and their ways. Most of the soldiers with whom I conversed regarded the conscientious objector as a hero, and many of them told me they would have been conscientious objectors, too, if they had had the moral courage to stand out against public opinion. These men were distinctly of the belief that it was easier to be a soldier and gain the approval of the multitude than it was to be a conscientious objector. All the soldiers whom I met were opposed to the imprisonment of conscientious objectors, and quite a number expressed themselves in forcible language against the system which imposed criminal imprisonment on men because they did not believe in war.

Of the men I met, some fifty or so in number, only three could be put down as believers in force as a permanent necessity in international politics. These three desired the War to continue until a military victory for the Allies was secured, but none of them had any illusions about "crushing the enemy." That, they believed, was impracticable and unwise. Only one of the three was a trench man, and he was wounded, and unlikely to be fit for further service abroad: the other two were home service men. All other soldiers who had been in the trenches that I came across were tired of the War; were disinclined to go back to the trenches; and were favourable to peace by negotiation. A few were even inclined to accept a peace without bothering about the terms, which latter, they said, was not their concern.

Very many of the soldiers were keenly interested in politics, and among them was one whose great distinction was that he was an inveterate heckler of Mr. Asquith when that politician paid his annual visit to East Fife. These political soldiers were interested in the theories of Socialism, and enjoyed a discussion on that subject immensely. In fact, among some of them there was quite a competition to get debating Socialism, and, as I was just as anxious to discuss with them, I had no need to weary for lack of exercise in dialectics. One lad was an orphan belonging to East London, knew George Lansbury well, and had kindly remembrances of him as a governor of an orphan school. This youth was sent direct into the Army from the orphanage, and there seems to be a system whereby orphan boys are "guided" into the Army by unseen hands.

During my detention as a military prisoner numerous kindnesses were volunteered me by the men in khaki. At all times they were willing to comply with reasonable requests, and did everything in their power to make the prisoner as comfortable as his environment would permit. No attempt was ever made to force me to do things I did not want to do except when an order came that I was to put on a uniform. It was then demonstrated that the uniform was to be forced on my body—by order—and rather than humiliate my kindly guardians by compelling them to use force on me against their will and inclination I put on the uniform five minutes before the hour of court-martial. The other orders against me were carried out tactfully and with respect, and everything the soldiers did for me was done with a rough kindness which prompted affection in return.

The discipline in the guard-room is not always rigorous, and we enjoyed many little privileges granted by request. Where I was located conscientious objectors were allowed to see visitors and enjoyed certain facilities for correspondence. The sleeping accommodation was rough, and there was a lack of such articles as chairs or tables in the guard-room. Such essentials were provided in the cells only. For untried prisoners work was voluntary, and there were two exercise periods of one hour each daily. The dietary was much more liberal and nourishing than the fare in Wormwood Scrubbs Prison, and no prisoner lacked for food. A hot bath could be had on demand once a week, and at all times the officers were available to hear complaints. The daily inspection of the guard-room and cells was carried out with thoroughness. The place was kept as clean as the prisoners cared to make it.

Of Special Interest this week

THE LENIN REVOLUTION
E. Sylvia Pankhurst

LLOYD GEORGE'S LATEST!

While travelling under escort on short journeys and between Glasgow and London there was nothing to complain of in the treatment I received. The journeys between Glasgow and London were made in what are known as "military trains," and although the occupants of the carriage in which I was seated were soldiers who knew me to be a conscientious objector, we were always on the best terms. The remarks of the soldiers regarding the War were illuminating, and I shall not readily forget the two Australians travelling to Scotland on leave who wished the War and all the politicians were damned in hell. These Australians were quite frank in their desire for peace, and told me the majority of their comrades were of a like opinion. Both seemed to be of the belief that an experience of war is a sure cure for militarism. In a second article I hope to deal with experiences in Wormwood Scrubbs Prison.

"THE DREADNOUGHT"

ANOTHER RAID

On November 9th, the Government made another attack on the WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT. At 4.30 in the afternoon Inspector Everest and detectives visited Mr. Francis at the Athenæum Press and asked him for any material connected with the paper dated November 10th, which was published on November 8th. Mr. Francis replied that the paper was being printed at the Labour Press. The police asked Mr. Francis to keep their visit secret, but he refused. The police then proceeded to the National Labour Press, where, in the absence of the manager, they were of course informed that the week's issue of the paper had already been sent out. They seized some proofs and standing type. Six police officers then proceeded by taxi to 400 Old Ford Road, E., arriving at 7.30 p.m. The Editor and staff of the DREADNOUGHT were unfortunately away, but happily the bulk of the current week's issue had been distributed. The police seized about 500 copies of the current issue and a few copies of the four issues which had been printed by Mr. Francis at the Athenæum Press.

THE ATTACK ON "THE DREADNOUGHT."

The question of the attack on the WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT was again raised in Parliament by Mr. Philip Snowden on November 7th.

"THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT."

Mr. Snowden (Lab.) asked the Home Secretary if he will say what particular article in the suppressed number of the "Workers' Dreadnought" was regarded by the authorities as very objectionable; whether he is aware that this issue of the "Workers' Dreadnought" has been reprinted by another firm, and has been for some weeks on sale without interference by the authorities; why, in view of the undoubted fact that the police required the manager of the Blackfriars Press to undertake not to print the "Workers' Dreadnought" in future, the authorities at Scotland Yard stated that they had no objection to the Athenæum Press printing future issues of the paper; and, in view of the interference with the freedom of the Press, the liberty of the subject, and the rights of trade, of the action of the police in entering a printing office and destroying, or threatening to destroy, the printing plant, he will instruct the police that in future they must so act that the aggrieved party will have the right to have the complaint dealt with in a court of law?

Sir George Cave: The police have not acted in such a way as to deprive the printers of "The Workers' Dreadnought" of their legal remedy. It is open to anyone who considers himself aggrieved by illegal action on the part of the police to sue them for damages, and in that way bring all the facts before a court of law. In view of the possibility of such proceedings, I must refrain from offering any comment on the points raised by the Hon. Member, but he must not assume that the statements of fact involved in his question are admitted.

Bernard Shaw on Spiritual Powers

Addressing a Fabian audience at the King's Hall, Covent Garden, on November 9th, Mr. Bernard Shaw said that Government by the Church rapidly became Government by the priest, as there were not enough saints to go round, and as the real saints always refused temporal power. Government by the State was better than Government by the Church, but under modern conditions the State was absolutely lacking in spiritual power; the problem was to get spiritual power into the State. This idea had been floating about in his mind all his life and had led him to suggest the creation of 50 Parliamentary Aldermen, superior persons, educated men, elected by the whole country on a proportional representation basis. On such a basis he himself would be elected, getting 100 votes in Newcastle, 100 in Brighton, 1½ in Oxford, 2 in Cambridge, till his quota was made up. He would not get as many votes as a popular actor or general, but he could get enough to beat a man who could easily beat him in a local election. The 50 Parliamentary Aldermen having been elected to Westminster, they must not be allowed to vote; to put the coercive power of the vote in their hands would be to deprive them of spiritual power. They must be allowed to talk to the ignorant Members of Parliament.

Mr. Shaw then proceeded to refer to the French Revolution: the king was the only man in France who understood politics, the noblemen were flunkeys, the later revolutionaries were "a most astonishing body of cut-throats and thieves"; therefore the French people were only too glad to be governed by Napoleon. In Russia the same thing was happening, and the only way out for Russia was a strong Government which would not be democratic. A man called Lenin—here someone broke the current of the speech by applauding—Lenin had let fall the word armistice. Suppose the Germans were to propose an armistice for one year during which the League of Nations should be summoned, and during which the Germans should submit for consideration the question of Alsace-Lorraine and the British those of Ireland, India, Egypt, and Italy that of Trieste. We should reply that we would hear nothing of an armistice whilst a single German soldier remained on the soil of Belgium or France. (Here came a little outbreak of applause.) Mr. Shaw went on—was it a little cautiously? The Germans might say they would go back to their own country and would ask: "Now are you prepared to agree?" They would thus seek to gain for themselves a moral advantage. We might be compelled by moral decency to agree. Our statesmen might say: "No: the dispute must be settled by the sword and adjudicated later." Was it not rather haltingly now that Mr. Shaw spoke? He said that the dispute would be settled by the sword if it could be, but if it could not be might not the League of Nations act as the spiritual power in procuring a settlement. During the War the League of Nations could not have behind it the coercive power which he hoped it would ultimately have.

Ireland came next under review. The plans of Sinn Feiners, Ulstermen, Redmondites, were all "stark, staring made"; the only solution was the Fabian plan comprising Federal Home Rule, giving local parliaments to England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales. The plan is not new!

At question time Mrs. Webb asked whether Mr. Shaw's desire for a spiritual power could not be met as well by a Second Chamber consisting of Members of the House of Commons elected by the various parties in the Commons. We were glad to hear Mr. Shaw answer: "If you must have an Upper Chamber, that 's perhaps the best kind of Upper Chamber to have; but an Upper Chamber is something you don't want." He desired his spiritual powers to be mixed up with the ordinary Members of Parliament.

We would ask Mr. Shaw whether his desire to make M.P.s hear the speeches of superior, educated "Aldermen" is not really the desire that they shall hear the speeches of experts, and whether it would not be better to bring specially chosen experts into the Chamber for each subject under discussion? In the American State Legislatures experts and persons interested in questions under consideration are not only invited to address Committees of the Legislature, but also to address the House itself. Judge Neil addressed the Legislature of Illinois on Mothers' Pensions, and was thereby able to secure the passage of the first Mothers' Pensions Law.

Give this paper to a friend.

THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT

Editor: SYLVIA PANKHURST.

Published by the Workers' Suffrage Federation, 400 OLD FORD ROAD, LONDON, E.

Telephone: EAST 1787.

Annual Subscription - Post free, 6s. 6d.

AGENTS:

INTERNATIONAL SUFFRAGE SHOP, 5 Duke Street, Charing Cross, W. C.; ST. BRIDE'S HOUSE, Salisbury Square; Messrs. W. H. SMITH AND SONS, Strand, W.C.; CITY AND SUBURBAN PUBLISHING CO., St. Bride's Churchyard, E.C.; Messrs. HORACE MARSHALL AND CO., Temple Avenue, E.C.; Messrs. TOLER, Savoy Street, Strand; MARLBOROUGH, 51 Old Bailey, E.C.; A. RITCHIE, Pemberton Row, Gough Square, E.C.; A. AND E. HARVEY, 5 Gough Square; SIMPKIN, MARSHALL, HAMILTON AND KENT, Paternoster Row, E.C.; A. RAGGETT, Clark Street, Stepney, E.; MAYOR BROS., Green Street, Bethnal Green; JOHN HEYWOOD, Manchester; THE WHOLESALE SOCIETY, 16 Johnson Street, Bolton; REFORMERS' BOOK STALL and HERALD LEAGUE, Glasgow.

Can be obtained at the Bookstalls of Messrs. W. H. SMITH AND SONS, and all Newsagents.

Back Numbers, 2½d. post free.

All business communications should be sent to the MANAGER, 400 Old Ford Road, Bow, E.

Vol. IV., No. 34. Sat., November 17th, 1917.

THE LENIN REVOLUTION

WHAT IT MEANS TO DEMOCRACY.

"Anarchy in Russia," say the newsagents' placards. The capitalist newspapers denounce the latest Russian Revolution in unmeasured terms, and even the working men and women in the street too often echo their angry denunciations. Yet the latest revolt of the Russian Revolution, the revolt with which the name of Lenin is associated, has been brought about in order that the workers of Russia may no longer be disinherited and oppressed. This revolt is the happening which definitely makes the Russian Revolution of the twentieth century the first of its kind. Had the Revolution stopped short at Kerensky's premiership and Kerensky's policy, it would have meant little more to humanity than an echo of the French Revolution. Now it bids fair to be something very much more. The "Manchester Guardian" compares the Russian and the French Revolutions, saying:

"The fundamental difference between France in 1792 and Russia in 1917 is that the French movement was as much nationalist as democratic. The French understood from the first that the liberty they had won for themselves they had to guard against unfriendly Europe and invading Germany. The more democratic the revolutionary party, the greater its fervour in this cause."

More than a hundred years have passed, and though the "Manchester Guardian" still regards the ideas of 1792 as revolutionary, the real revolutionaries of 1917 have a wholly different outlook. The Bolsheviks say:

"We are opposed to a separate Peace with the Imperialists of any nation."

The Bolsheviks, like the French revolutionaries, realise that the Governments of Europe are unfriendly; but they separate the peoples from the Governments. They realise that the Imperialist-capitalists of all nations are their enemies, and that the workers of all nations are their friends. The "Manchester Guardian" suggests, and some British Socialists who should know better suggest, that if the Allied Governments had shown more sympathy for Russian aims and treated Russia somewhat more generously, this Bolshevik view would not have been held. To argue thus is completely to ignore the outstanding fact that the Russian Revolution is a Socialist Revolution, and that its aims and ideals are incompatible with those of capitalism.

The Bolsheviks, or Maximalists, whose best known leaders are Lenin and Trotsky, but who do not depend for their policy on any group of leaders, were the driving force which made possible the Revolution last March, when the Czar was deposed. In the present upheaval they are but striving to complete their work. When it was suddenly made known that the Revolution of last March had been accomplished, the event was hailed with expressions of boundless enthusiasm, even by those who for months past had been using every effort to prevent its taking place. No doubt the imperialists hoped that, with careful diplomacy and a judicious admixture of threats and compliments, the Revolution might be prevented from interfering, either with Russia's part in the War and the treaties into which she had entered under the old regime, or with the capitalist system in Russia and the financial and trade interests of Russia's Allies. Rodzianko, the Conservative President of the Duma, who had waited to act till the Workers' and Soldiers' Council created by the Socialists had made the Revolution, endeavoured to seize the reins of Government in Russia, and was hailed by the British Press as the hero of the hour. When the Workers' and Soldiers' Council forced Rodzianko's resignation, Miliukoff, the Liberal Imperialist, eagerly forwarding aims of conquest, including the annexation of Constantinople and the Dardanelles, came to the front. But the Workers' and Soldiers' Council, the great power in Russia on which the confidence of the mass of the people rested, was ever pressing towards Peace and Socialism, and Miliukoff resigned when the Council insisted that the Provisional Government should accept its declaration for Peace on the basis of:

"No annexations, no indemnities, the right of the peoples to decide their own destiny."

Kerensky, not quite a Socialist and enthusiastic for the Alliance with Britain, France and Italy, became Premier by the will of the majority of the Workers' and Soldiers' Council. He professed adherence to the Council's Peace formula, and declared that not one drop of Russian blood should be shed for imperialist aims of conquest. Yet he dragged the Russian people after him in unconditional support of the capitalist Governments of the Allies which refused to abate their aims of conquest, or even to state what these aims are. As was stated in the French Chamber on July 31st, 1917, he even allowed the reaffirming of the secret treaty between France and Russia by which Russia was to support France in annexations on the left bank of the Rhine. M. Ribot virtually admitted this when, in reply to accusations in the French Chamber, he said:

"M. Doumergue, after his conversations with the Czar, asked and obtained from M. Briand authorisation to support our claim to Alsace-Lorraine, torn by violence from us, and to leave us free to seek guarantees against further aggression, not by annexing to France territories on the left bank of the Rhine, but by making, if need be, of these territories an autonomous State, protecting us as well as Belgium against invasion from beyond the Rhine."

An autonomous State, of course, means here a French State to which Home Rule is given.

The Council of Workers' and Soldiers Deputies created by the soldiers was the power that made the Revolution, and though sections of our Press have belittled it, it is, as Mr. Arthur Ransome, the "Daily News" special correspondent, says: "the broadest based elected body in Russia." Since the first outbreak of revolution the Bolsheviks have consistently demanded that until the Constituent Assembly is elected by the votes of all the men and women of Russia over 20 years of age, the Workers' and Soldiers' Council shall take over the Government of Russia. The Bolsheviks (whose title merely signifies that they are out for the maximum Socialist programme instead of the minimum programme like the Mensheviks) at first formed the minority on the Workers' and Soldiers' Council, and the majority, who thought it safest to have a Coalition Government, carried the day. Those who formed the majority voted for a Coalition Government because they hoped that by giving the capitalist parties representation in the Government they could buy off capitalist opposition to the new regime and induce the capitalists not to work for the re-establishment of the Czardom. The same tactics induced continued support of the War from many Socialist Revolutionaries who recognised its aggressive capitalist character, but feared that to retreat from it might mean invasion by Japan and the withdrawal of Allied capital from Russia, where capital is so greatly needed.

But hardship and hunger have grown on Russia, and the coalition with the capitalist parties has proved a disappointment, whilst Allied help has been but sparingly forthcoming. The advice of the Bolsheviks to withdraw f om the capitalist War and to press on towards Socialism has gained steadily in favour, both in the country and on the Workers' and Soldiers' Council, till at the last All-Russian Congress of the Councils the Bolshevik delegates numbered 335 out of a total of 475. Their opponents strive to make it appear that Lenin and his party are a handful of people which has imposed its domination upon the unwilling Russian people; but it is the Workers' and Soldiers' Council which has now deposed Kerensky and the Provisional Government, and itself becoming the Government has chosen Lenin to be its Prime Minister. Arthur Ransome, in the "Daily News," admits that "the Bolsheviks do hold a majority of the politically active population," and quotes in proof the composition of the Soviet of Moscow as well as that of Petrograd.

On November 7th the Council of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies became the Government of Russia. "Anarchy, anarchy," newspaper headlines label the proceedings, but a "Daily News" correspondent says:

"Seldom in history has a coup d'etat been carried out quieter or more efficiently. There has been a total absence of the popular conception of what revolution is."

Kerensky is said to have left Petrograd on November 7th because the troops prepared to support his Government were too few, and, indeed, only the officer cadets and the Women's Battalion, a reactionary handful organised by reactionaries, defended the seat of Government. The Baltic Fleet and the Committee representing the forces in Finland voted to support Lenin's administration. An Exchange Telegraph telegram reports that only three persons were killed in the coup d'etat. A "Daily Telegraph" correspondent heard that the deaths were 200, but adds that firing was first heard at 5 p.m., all was quiet at 3 a.m. and the trams were running and men and women proceeding to work at 7 a.m.

Contrast that with the War! Yet this Socialist Revolution in Russia aims at taking the momentous untried step from capitalism into Socialism; whilst the War, even were it waged for the objects put forward by its most democratic advocates, is not in advance of the best ideals which animated those who fought against Napoleon.

The Government of Russia was taken over by the Workers' and Soldiers' Council with a minimum of disorder, but the Council is not to have the easy victory which was allowed to the Provisional Government which immediately succeeded the Czar's regime. The deposed Provisional Government is not prepared to let the Council try what it can do to save Russia from her present misery. Already there has been fighting in the streets of Petrograd. Kerensky at once endeavoured to procure troops to reinstate him. Korniloff and Rodzianko, a sinister partnership, began to concentrate forces in Moscow. The opponents of the Workers' and Soldiers' Council formed an "All-Russian Committee for saving the country and the Revolution"—from the body which made the Revolution! The people who made the Revolution are accused of being traitors even by men like Korniloff, who but lately attempted a rebellion to re-establish the Czar. All the forces of reaction are massing against the Soviet, and it is said that reaction has won to its side the Railway Workers' Union, the Post and Telegraph Officials, and the Union of Government Servants. But such news may be false.

As was anticipated, the capitalist Governments are hostile. The "Daily Telegraph" reports that in America:

"It is suggested that financial advances to a Bolshevik administration will not be made while there is any uncertainty as to whether such money might be applied to promoting the Peace agitation."

"The Times" reports that the Russian Embassy in Washington refuses to accept the authority of a Bolshevik Government. The agreement between the United States and Japan may have a bearing upon the situation. Indeed, the Russian Revolutionaries, the real Revolutionaries who are done with the old regime and all its ways for ever, are now faced with grave dangers both from within and from without. It may be pretended that the opposition to them is due to the character of Lenin and his colleagues, but the Bolshevik policy which is formulated below is the cause of the opposition.

THE PEOPLE'S PROGRAMME.

Here is the manifesto which the Second General Congress of the Soviets of all Russia has issued to the workers, soldiers and peasants of Russia, and which was adopted by the Congress with only two dissentients and 12 abstentions:—

WORKERS TAKE CONTROL.

"Resting on the will of the overwhelming majority of workmen, soldiers and peasants, and depending on the successful armed rising of the workers and the garrison of Petrograd, the Congress takes the powers of the Government into its own hands.

AN IMMEDIATE ARMISTICE ON ALL FRONTS.

It will propose to all peoples an immediate democratic Peace, and an armistice to come into force at once on all fronts.

THE LAND FOR THE PEASANTS.

The power of the Soviets will assure the free return of all private, State, and ecclesiastical lands to the Peasants' Committees.

It will defend the rights of soldiers, thus realising the complete democratisation of the Army.

WORKERS TO CONTROL INDUSTRY.

It will establish the control of the workers over production, and will ensure the timely summoning of the Constituent Assembly.

It will arrange for the food supply of the towns and the provision of necessaries for the villages.

FREEDOM OF NATIONALITIES.

It will guarantee to all nationalities inhabiting Russia the right of their sons to organise their own future.

The Congress has decided that all local power shall pass into the hands of the local Soviets, which will establish strict order under the revolution.

PROTECT THE REVOLUTION FROM IMPERIALISM.

The Congress calls the soldiers in the trenches to vigilance and firmness, and it is persuaded that the Revolutionary Army will be able to protect the Revolution against all Imperialist efforts until the moment when the new Government shall have obtained the democratic Peace which it will propose direct to all peoples.

GET MONEY FROM WHERE MONEY IS.

The new Government will take all necessary measures to provide the Army with everything that it requires by means of an energetic policy of requisitions and taxes to be imposed upon all moneyed classes. It will likewise improve the economic position of the families of soldiers.

The parties of General Korniloff, M. Kerensky, and General Kaledin and others are endeavouring to move troops upon Petrograd, but several detachments of the troops with M. Kerensky have already passed over to the side of the people in revolt. Soldiers, oppose an active resistance to Kerensky, that partison of Korniloff! You, railwaymen, stop the forces that Kerensky is sending to Petrograd!"

The things set forth in this manifesto are the things which the Russian Revolution originally set out to attain—a democratic Peace; land for the peasants, promised again and again by Minister after Minister since the Revolution in March; democratisation of the Army, partially

(Continued on page 885, col. 3.)

QUESTIONS OF THE DAY

MR. LLOYD GEORGE ON THE WAR

"We have won great victories. When I look at the appalling casualty lists I sometimes wish it had not been necessary to win so many."

It is not often that we can so whole-heartedly agree with any words of Mr. Lloyd George as we do these delivered at a Paris luncheon with members of the French Government. Speaking as "almost the only Minister of any land on either side who has been in it from the beginning to this hour," he went on to declare that the War has been prolonged by sectionalism amongst the Allies and by "inconceivable blunders."

"Because it was no one's business in particular to guard the gates of the Balkans," Germany was blockaded East and West, but "on the South, the important South, with its gateway to the East, was left to be held by the forces of a small country with half the population of Belgium . . . the Central Empires . . . threw their weight on that little country, crushed her resistance, . . . unlocked great stores of corn, cattle, minerals, . . . all essential to enable Germany to sustain her struggle." So, too, for the same reason, "the rich cornfields of Roumania passed to the foe." And again, "Russia had collapsed; Italy was menaced; the business of Russia is to look after her own front. It is the concern of Italy to look after her own War. . . . Disastrous! Fatal!"

But as Mr. Lloyd George says, he has been in the Cabinet since the beginning of the War; it is very late to tell the nation these things now. He announces now that a supreme War Council of the Allies has been created and assures the people that henceforth all will be well. This is not the first of Mr. George's revelations. So he endeavours to lead them on after another mirage. Some day he will be telling the nation that not merely has the supply of munitions been neglected and the strategy of the War been bad, but that the War aims and the diplomacy have been wickedly selfish and corrupt. The people cannot afford to wait another year or so for Mr. Lloyd George to tell them this! * * * *

The Pope is about to make another move towards Peace; his activities are shaming the leaders of many professedly democratic churches.

* * * *

Sir Auckland Geddes says: "Do not imagine the War will last a day less than a year." Why not stop it?

SUGAR AND CONSCRIPTION

Mrs. Jordan, of 43 Curzon Street, Long Eaton, in filling up her sugar card, has refused to give particulars as to the occupations of the various members of her household and the schools attended by the children. She has informed the authorities that by filling up the National Registration forms

"I helped to bring about Conscription, and so to send my husband and others to prison, and to send lads of 18 years into the Army. Unless some explanation is forthcoming and a guarantee given I must decline to furnish the particulars, even if I have to go without sugar."

POTATOES

The latest eccentricity of the Food Controller is the arrangement to fix a maximum price of £6 a ton and to subsidise the growers who sell potatoes for less than £6 a ton, the Government agreeing to make up the price to £6. A base price is to be fixed in each district beneath which no subsidy will be granted. This may secure rather cheaper potatoes to housewives, but of course in the end the people pay the subsidy in their taxes, and large opportunities for cheating are provided. Socialism and the abolition of private profit is the only way!

PITY THE NEUTRALS

Holland and Scandinavian countries imported, before the War, a monthly average of 382,000 tons of cereals and fodder. In September last they only imported 25,000 tons. That means very serious hardship. The "Manchester Guardian" quotes the letter of a Dutch lady: "People can use only one room, and there the whole family will have to sit with a wood fire and one small lamp. . . . The scarcity of bread is very serious. . . . We have sufficient potatoes and vegetables, but there is so little fuel to get them cooked. . . . Many factories are closed for lack of coal, and so many thousands of men are out of work. . . ."

WILL THE PLEA BE HEARD

Food is said to be withheld by the Allies from the Finns in case the Germans should invade Finland. Professor George Wendt, the official delegate of the Finnish Senate, has sent the following telegram to President Wilson, Mr. Lloyd George, and Mr. Asquith:—

"My country's extreme situation of distress gives me courage to address you directly, and to call your attention to our want of immediate help. In Finland the distress is absolutely beyond any comparison. After a most extraordinary failure of crops, with no reserves of food, left alone in desperate hopelessness in our cold, isolated country, facing the famine of the coming winter, we call out for help and for your help. If foodstuffs are not forthcoming from some source or other, starvation will be the result. May God grant that your help will not be too late."

Councillors Ashton and Davies

The Manchester City Council has disgraced itself by its action in excluding from the Education Committee Councillor Margaret Ashton and Councillor Davies. We should not like to occupy the shoes of Councillor Caroline Herford and Councillor Legge, who have meanly accepted their positions. We tender our sympathy and respect to the excluded Councillors, well knowing that public opinion will ere long approve their opposition to the War.

PARLIAMENT AS WE SEE IT

November 6th.—Mr. Snowden (Lab.) drew attention to the case of a private of 19 who deserted after having been "over the top" twice. At the time of his desertion he was undergoing field punishment No. 1 for two hours daily, *exposed to shell fire*, on which account he ran away. Mr. Snowden pleaded for leniency for the boy; but Mr. Macpherson thought it would be impossible for him to attempt to influence the Court which will try the private. If it is a fact that field punishment was undergone under shell fire, it would seem that such inhumanity should be stopped; not that the soldier should be shot for making his escape!

WAR SAVINGS (?) MEETING.

The honorary officers of the local War Savings Committees who attended the Albert Hall meeting have claimed for expenses to the amount of £3,500. The meeting itself cost £220, which shows that £3,720 were lavished on an "economy" meeting.

FRANCHISE BILL.

Mr. Bonar Law assured Mr. Adamson (Lab.) that a scheme of redistribution for Ireland will not jeopardise the passage of the Representation of the People Bill this session.

PEACE DEBATE.

On the Third Reading of the Consolidated Fund Bill, Mr. Lees Smith (L.) moved a resolution in favour of immediate Peace negotiations. The motion, which we discussed fully in our issue of November 10th, was defeated by 282 votes to 31. Meanwhile, the peoples of all countries show by their weariness that they are in agreement with those 31.

* * * *

November 7th.—According to Mr. Macpherson, one million gallons of whisky is supplied for officers' and sergeants' messes to the Navy and Army Canteen Committee. Is this why the Liquor Control Act was passed?

BRUTALITY.

Accusations were made by Mr. McVeagh (I.N.) against a British officer, Lieutenant Gilliland, in charge of British prisoners of war at Philipopolis, of appropriating food and clothing consigned in bulk to the Irish prisoners. These he distributes regardless of the regiments to which they are consigned. Also that he orders floggings of British prisoners by their Bulgarian captors for the most trivial offences. Five Irish soldiers were flogged on St. Patrick's Day, one of whom was a man of 53. Mr. Macpherson replied that the charges made against Lieutenant Gilliland could not be regarded as "justified." "The other side of the question" would have to be inquired into; the statements of some of the victims who have been repatriated do not satisfy the Army Council. As in this instance the officer in question is probably the only one on the "other side," why are privates not treated with the same amount of consideration and justice?

* * * *

Mr. Anderson (Lab.) pointed out that 21 women were dismissed from a shell shop in County Durham after an arbitration case as to their wages. Mr. Kellaway said it was because the factory was being "reorganised"!!!

* * * *

November 8th.—Mr. Duke admitted that he had *not* seen the statement of Judge Neil, of Chicago, to the effect that: Although he had visited most of the great cities of Europe and the United States, he had never seen such poverty, particularly among the children, as he had seen in the poorer parts of Dublin at this moment. Yet Mr. Duke remarked that the "positive" conditions in Dublin must engage the "most careful attention of any administrator." How, then, was he in apparent ignorance of Judge Neil's propaganda in Dublin, which was to improve the conditions by introducing "Mothers' Pensions"?

"No information can be given in regard to the treatment of postal packets by the Censor"!! [Mr. Macpherson.]

MONKEYS.

Mr. Peto (L.) drew attention to the expected cargo of 600 Rhesus monkeys, and other animals. But Mr. Wardle pleaded ignorance. Are they, by any chance, meant to help the War?

£25,000 A YEAR SACRIFICED!

Mr. Hogge (L.) asked how it was possible for Sir John Simon to be made a major without army experience. Mr. Macpherson explained that "rank" is given "to enable an officer to carry out his duties properly." It was also pointed out that Sir J. Simon was over military age, and had sacrificed £25,000 a year. Mr. Hogge justly argued that many of the "boys" had sacrificed everything! But what are their lives in comparison with £25,000 a year?

"DAILY MAIL" EXEMPT.

Dr. Macnamara, replying to Mr. Richard Lambert (L.) on the question of the "Daily Mail" attacks upon the Navy, explained: That the First Lord was convinced that such criticisms arose from "imperfect knowledge of the facts"!!! We have committed a crime (the nature of which we are not told), but might it not also be a result of "imperfect knowledge of the facts"?

COAL MINES CONTROL BILL.

Sir Albert Stanley explained at some length a Bill which seems to have for its object the compensation of coal mine-owners who are not making money out of the War! It is to pass into law an agreement already arrived at; therefore, no amendments are allowable. The agreement secures that mine-owners whose mines make profits in excess of the pre-War period, which is taken as standard, should pay to the Inland Revenue 15 per cent. of the 20 per cent. which the mine-owner is allowed to retain under the Finance Act. This percentage is to be used to make good losses for which other mine-owners may claim from the Coal Controller. Mine-owners and non-mine-owners spoke against the measure. It is another instance of the futility of patchwork legislation such as the Corn Production and Petroleum Bills were. The products and riches of the soil should belong to the nation as a whole; that would end once and for all these Bills and Acts of Parliament which pander to vested interests.

REPRESENTATION OF THE PEOPLE BILL.

All the debate of November 7th and part of that on November 8th were devoted to discussing the decisions of the Boundary Commissioners. No amendment which entailed any increase in representation was passed. The only one of importance which was made was that which Sir P. Magnus moved on university representation. He urged that London University should be a separate constituency with one representative, and that it should not be joined together with eight other universities to which the Commissioners assigned three representatives. The debate resulted in obtaining one of those three representatives for London, whilst the remaining eight universities—viz., Durham, Manchester, Wales, Liverpool, Leeds, Sheffield, Birmingham, and Bristol—have only two representatives between them. * * * *

Ireland has been blessed with a Food Control Committee whose secretary receives £500! If the Irish had enough food they could control it more cheaply!!!

* * * *

November 12th.—The Coal Mines Bill, after much discussion, was granted a second reading.

AIR FORCE BILL.

A second reading was given the Air Force Bill, which will create an Air Force and an authority responsible in air matters. There is to be an Air Council, with a President who is to be a Secretary of State.

THE LENIN REVOLUTION (continued from page 884).

accomplished months ago, then snatched away; control of the workers over industry; Socialism—Socialism is not expressly mentioned in these provisions, but we hope, and believe, that its speedy realisation is intended; freedom of nationalities, for which the Allied Governments profess to be fighting, though the successive Coalition Governments set up in Russia since the Revolution have not been willing to grant freedom to the nationalities within the Russian Empire.

PEACE MANIFESTO OF THE WORKERS' GOVERNMENT.

The new Government, true to the trust laid upon it, has issued a manifesto calling on all belligerent Powers to open negotiations for a just and democratic Peace, proposing an immediate armistice, to continue for three months, and demanding that all nations and nationalities dragged into the War or suffering under it shall take part in the negotiations, and in conference shall sign the Peace terms. It declares that the new Russian Government will abolish secret diplomacy, and publish all secret treaties agreed to by the Provisional Government, such treaties being now null and void. We hope, indeed, that this intention may be accomplished, for undoubtedly the publication of these treaties will throw light on gravely important matters which are now partially hidden from the democracies of the world, and which, if they are made known, will reveal to the peoples the real aims of the international struggle. The manifesto further expresses willingness to take part in the consideration of Peace terms formulated by any belligerent, provided these are clear and without double meaning, and are not secret. If the belligerent Governments were really animated by the worthy sentiments which they vie with each other in expressing, they would hasten to take advantage of the offer of a Government which has no aims of conquest and is pledged to deal openly and without concealment. But the Allied capitalist Press has plainly indicated that the Allied Governments are bitterly hostile to these disinterested Peace terms, and the Governments of the Central Powers also appear to be looking askance at them.

The "Frankfurter Zeitung" probably voices the views of the German Government, and, indeed, of the Governments of all the great belligerent Powers, when it says that Lenin's way to make Peace is impossible, "for he goes on the assumption that all other countries will imitate Russia." It adds that Peace is only possible with a Government "which can stand with authority against Russia's Allies."

No; no. Lenin's way is not the German way; it is the people's way, but only some of the people have realised it yet. The Russian Peace manifesto makes a special appeal to the consciences of the workers of England, France, and Germany. How and when will that appeal be answered?

To prophesy on issues so great and new is perilous; yet we venture to predict that, though the present Government of the Council of Workers' and Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies may be temporarily overthrown by the forces against it; if this should happen, the elements of which this Government is composed will soon again arise to form a new and successful Government; and whether the Bolshevik Government stands or falls at the present moment, Russia will shortly be out of the War, either with or without the other belligerent peoples, and Russia will shortly have established within her borders measures of democratic Socialism far in advance of anything which at present seems possible in any other European country. When Russia has set the example, the peoples will not be slow to follow.

Only a Socialist can bring Russia successfully through her present trials. No capitalist Government will give the land to the peasants and control of industry to the workers; and these things, urgently necessary to all nations, are still more necessary to Russia. Even a Socialist Government will meet with great initial difficulties in bringing prosperity to all the people of Russia, but a Socialist Government is the only Government which can, and will, eventually succeed.

The fulfilment of our prophecy may come about in various ways: the power of the people may maintain the Bolshevik Government; or, if it should fall, the votes cast in the elections for the Constituent Assembly may re-instate it. We can look with a confidence to the votes of the Russian people which, as yet, we cannot feel towards the votes of our own countrymen and women, because the Russian people have lately proved themselves. In the Moscow Municipal elections in the summer 72 per cent. of the votes were cast for Socialist candidates. In Petrograd also the Socialists secured the majority of the votes. Compare the recent British Trade Union Congress and Labour Party manifestoes with this of the Russian Soviet. Compare the general outlook of such working-class bodies in the two countries! Why are the British organisations so far behind the Russian?

(Concluded on back page.)

THE
WORKERS' SUFFRAGE FEDERATION

To Secure a Vote for every Woman and Man of full age, and to win Social and Economic Freedom for the People on the basis of a Socialist Commonwealth.

Entrance Fee—1d.

Minimum Subscription—1d. a month.

Central Office: 400 Old Ford Road, London, E.3.
Hon. Secretary: Miss Sylvia Pankhurst.
Hon. Assistant Secretary: Mrs. Minnie Lansbury.
Hon. Financial Secretary: Miss Norah Smyth.

Address Correspondence on:—
Meetings, to Mrs. Bouvier.
W.S.F. Branches, Miss P. Lynch.
"Dreadnought," Miss O'Callaghan.
Other Literature, Miss Bush.

THE W.S.F. appeals for members and workers and invites friends to visit its offices and social institutions.
CENTRAL OFFICE: 400 Old Ford Road London, E.3.
THE MOTHERS' ARMS: 438 Old Ford Road, E.3. Mother and Doctor's Consultations and Baby Weighing, Mondays 2.30 p.m. Infant Clinic and Day Nursery, 8 a.m. to 7 p.m.
MONTESSORI SCHOOL: 10 a.m. to 2 p.m. (by appointment) with Miss Muriel Matters) at the Mothers' Arms.
THE WOMEN'S HALL: 20 Railway Street (opposite South Bromley Station on the North London Railway) Mother and Infant Clinic, Doctor's Consultations and Baby Weighing, Mondays and Thursdays at 2.30. Cost Price Restaurant, &c.
53 ST. LEONARDS STREET, BROMLEY: Mother and Infant Clinic, Literature depot, &c. Doctors' Consultations and Baby Weighing, Friday 10.30 a.m.
COST PRICE RESTAURANT: 400 Old Ford Road, Bow, E.3, and 20 Railway Street, Poplar.
ST. STEPHEN'S SHOP: 85 Hoxton Street, off Old Street, off Shoreditch. Literature on Communism, Feminism, Internationalism, Socialism.
CO-OPERATIVE TOY INDUSTRY: By appointment with Miss Norah Smyth.
THE WORKERS' CHOIR: Applications for Membership to Mrs. Hercbergova, 45 Norman Road, E. Director and Conductor, Mr. Harold Cooper.
SOCIALIST SUNDAY SCHOOL: 20 Railway Street, Poplar. Sunday Afternoons, 3 p.m.

WORKERS' NATIONAL ADULT SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT.

CONCERT AND DANCE, Saturday, November 17th, 6.30 p.m. to 11 p.m., Chandos Hall, 21a Maiden Lane, Strand. Miss Joan Cheney, dancer; Mr. Edward Soermus, violinist; the Westminster Choir Boys, etc. Mr. W. Carter will preside. Refreshments at popular prices. Tickets 6d. (including tax), to be obtained from the Hon. Sec., 400 Old Ford Road, E.C.3, and at the door.

OUR FUNDS

Donations to be sent to the Hon. Financial Secretary, Miss N. L. Smyth, 400 Old Ford Road, Bow, E.3.
All parcels to 400 Old Ford Road, Bow, E.3.

GRATEFULLY ACKNOWLEDGED.

GENERAL FUND.—Irene, per Mrs. Drake (weekly), £1; Miss E. Lowy (monthly), 10s.; Nurse Hebbes (weekly), 10s.; Miss H. Raisin (monthly), 10s.; Leyton Branch, 6s.; Mrs. Crabb, 5s.; Pte. Cecil King, 3s.; Per Miss Lynch, 2s.; Mr. John Davies, 4d. COLLECTIONS: Bow Women's Hall, 17s. 2½d.; South Norwood Branch, 5s. 8d.; Osborn Street, 4s. 6d.

PEACE CAMPAIGN.—Miss L. Isaacs, 5s.; Anon., 6d.

"OLD COCKNEY AIR."—Miss M. B. Ellis, £1 10s.; Miss M. Moteno, £1 1s.; Mrs. Hecht, 10s.; Mrs. Grieve, 5s.

"DREADNOUGHT" FUND.—D. M. Stevenson, Esq., £1; Mrs. Campbell, £1; Leslie Jones, Esq. (card), 15s. 9d.; Mrs. Gouldborne (card), 5s. 6d.; H. W. Dickinson, Esq., 5s.; Mrs. Parkes, 3s.; Mrs. Barfield, 2s. 6d.; Miss Lucy Whitehead, 2s. 6d.; Miss Eagles, 2s.; H. D. Dickinson, Esq., 2s.; Mrs. Winter, 1s. 2d.; Mrs. Edwardes, 1s.

"DREADNOUGHT" GUARANTEE FUND.—Previously acknowledged (weekly), £2 14s. 5d.; Mr. Toop (monthly), 2s. 6d.

MILK AND GENERAL DISTRESS.—Per Miss Weir (monthly), £2; Mrs. Baillie Weaver (monthly), £2; Lady Stalbridge, £1; Mrs. Usherwood (5s. monthly), 10s.; Miss Anna E. Smith, 10s.; Central Foundation School, Form IV. B, 8s.; Lower IV. B, 7s. 8d.; Upper III. B, 6s.; Upper III. A, 5s.; Bulwell Adult School, 5s.; Misses Barrowman (monthly), 5s.; D. Wilkie, Esq. (monthly), 2s. 6d.; Anon. (Bulwell), 2s. COLLECTIONS: L.S.A. Tool Room, £1 10s. 11½d.; Misses E. and K. Lagsding, Mrs. Bertram, and Miss T. Watts (Cubitt Town and Green's Yard), 14s. 4½d.

WHATS' ON?
W.S.F. FIXTURES
OUTDOOR

GREAT PUSH FOR PEACE! SOCIALISM! VOTES FOR ALL!

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 17th.
St. Pancras District—Meet at 2.30 p.m. at 44 Malden Road, Kentish Town (nearest station, Chalk Farm). Meeting at 3. Speakers: Miss Price, Miss Lynch, Mrs. Bouvier, Mrs. Walker, Mr. H. G. Russell.
SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 18th.
Osborn Street, Whitechapel, 11.30 a.m., Mr. Hogben.
Hampstead "Flagstaff," 3 p.m., Miss Price.
Hyde Park, 3 p.m., Mrs. Walker.
Finsbury Park, 3.30 p.m., Mrs. Bouvier.

INDOOR

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 18th.
Bow Women's Hall, 6.30 p.m., Mr. E. C. Fairchild: "Internationalism." Chair, Mrs. Walker. Recitations, Miss Dorothy Matthews.
Workers' National Adult Suffrage Movement, Chandos Hall, 3 p.m., Council meeting.
TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 20th.
85 Camberwell Grove, 7.30 p.m., Mr. J. Syme.
WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 21st.
29b Lincoln's Inn Fields, 8 p.m., Mr. Hogben; Speakers' Class.
THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 22nd.
29b Lincoln's Inn Fields, 3.30 p.m., Rev. H. Chalmers: "The World War and the Churches." Chair, Miss P. Lynch.

OTHER ORGANISATIONS

Kingsley Hall, Bow, at 8.15 p.m. on Sunday, November 18th. Speaker: Mr. Hugh Martin.
Walthamstow League of Rights.—Tuesday, November 20th, William Morris Hall, 2.30 p.m. Miss Horsfall.
SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 25th.
Barrow-in-Furness I.L.P., Sunday November 25th, Town Hall, Miss Sylvia Pankhurst.

LEEDS.

Dance and Whist Drive, November 24th, 8 p.m. Fancy dress optional. Savoy Café. Tickets 1s. each.

FEDERATION NOTES.

At the Peace meeting held on Saturday, the 10th inst., at The Grove, Hammersmith, Mrs. Walker was the principal speaker, and in spite of the darkness had a large and attentive audience.

On Sunday, the 11th, at 400 Old Ford Road, Bow, Miss Horsfall opened the first of a series of discussions on econmics, to be held each Sunday afternoon at 3.30. We hope to welcome more members and friends to this study circle.

On Sunday evening at 400 Old Ford Road Mr. Miles Malleson read "Black 'Ell" and "D Company." Mr. Malleson is taking a great interest in the performance of his play, "Paddly Pools," which will be given by Bow children at the Cockney Fair.

Members and friends are asked to come to the working party for the Fair which will be held every Saturday afternoon at 3 p.m., 400 Old Ford Road, Bow. Mrs. Casey, 29b Lincoln's Inn Fields, makes a special appeal for contributions to the Curio Stall.

INTERNATIONAL YOUNG AGE PENSIONS.

Dear Friends of Humanity,—Before the storm bursts let us endeavour to place the children and all those who are helpless in comparative safety by securing SEVEN SHILLINGS A WEEK each for them from the State, that we may be free to work for other reforms. At present, whilst they are exposed to cold, poverty and hunger, we can think of nothing else. 7s. a week would ENABLE FAMILIES TO MOVE AT ONCE INTO BETTER HOUSES, and to obtain better milk and food. This would stimulate local trade and reduce expenses of WORKHOUSES, HOSPITALS, PRISONS and LUNATIC ASYLUMS, and do away with all poor rates to such an extent as to be A GREAT SAVING to the taxpayers, and would enable sensible girls to marry where they would otherwise not dare to do so, and to bring up healthy happy children to become stalwart citizens and parents in their turn, besides relieving untold pain and suffering, and being an estimable benefit to the State.

The fact of a married man becoming automatically POORER at the birth of each child constitutes a cruel wrong to all children, and until each child has 7s. a week in its own individual right, as an infant citizen, suffering, war, disease, and poverty can never be abolished. Let us all demand this from the Government now before it may be too late.—Yours truly,

A CHILD LOVER.

Advert.]

MISCELLANEOUS ADVERTISEMENTS

FAMILY LIMITATION DOCTRINE. Post free, 1½d. —Malthusian League, Queen Anne's Chambers, Westminster.

SUFFRAGE WORKERS should spend their holidays at "Sea View," Victoria Road, Brighton. Hostess, Miss Turner.

ELECTRIC MACHINE BAKERY
91 BURDETT ROAD, MILE END
W. WOODS & SONS,
Family Bakers.

THE LENIN REVOLUTION (continued from page 885).

War hardships, greater in Russia than in any other belligerent country, have contributed to make Russia riper for revolution than the others and to increase the need of her people for Socialism; but this is not the sole reason why the Russian workers are politically ahead of ours. In Russia the politics of advanced politicians have long been more definite and scientific, and, above all, more democratic, than the politics of those who are held to be advanced politicians in this country. The British Labour Party has hitherto existed without a programme; the programme which its Executive now proposes for it is so vaguely drawn that Mr. Sidney Webb, a member of its Executive, is able to describe it as embodying:

"A Socialism which is no more specific than a definite repudiation of the individualism that characterises all the political parties of the past generation."

Our Labour Conferences deal chiefly with fugitive partial reforms of the moment, in a spirit rather of opportunism than of adventure and research; and, to a lesser extent, the same thing may be said even of our Socialist Conferences. In the political field we believe we are right in saying that neither a Labour Party, Trade Union nor I.L.P. Conference has discussed, at any rate within recent years, such essential democratic institutions as the Initiative Referendum and Recall, institutions which are all actually in being in the Western States of U.S.A., and which are partially established elsewhere. A Russian Socialist woman said to us: "People here are actually discussing whether the Referendum is democratic; why, I realised the democratic importance of the Referendum when I was fifteen years of age!" The following evening we heard Mr. Bernard Shaw assuming, in addressing a Fabian audience, that our populace is too ignorant to be trusted to use the Referendum, and declaring that if it were established in this country, legislation would be held up altogether. The Lettish Social-Democratic Workers' Party was formed in 1904; at its second Congress in June, 1905, it placed the following political reforms on its programme:—

"(1) Government by the people—i.e., the supreme power of the State—to be placed in the hands of a Legislative Assembly consisting of representatives elected by the whole population of Russia.

"(2) Adult Suffrage—i.e., the right to an equal, secret and direct vote in all elections, local and national—for all citizens, men and women, who have reached the age of 20, according to the proportional representation system. Biennial elections. . . . ."

This was in 1905, and things move fast in Russia. Let us take a few further points at random from this same programme of 1905, points many of them which our Trade Union and Socialist Conferences have not even discussed:—

"(8) Law Courts and defence free of charge. Elected judges and members of the jury to take a conspicuous part in the debates. The abolition of all special and extraordinary (military, clerical and administrative) Courts, hard labour for life, corporal, and other degrading punishment; compensation to be given to those unjustly accused, arrested, or sentenced.

"(9) . . . War to be declared, or Peace proclaimed, only by the national representatives; international intervention or arbitration.

"(11) Compulsory free training at school up to 16th year; free meals for every pupil. . . .

"(3) No overtime to be worked.

"(4) Night work is to be prohibited—i.e., from 9 a.m. to 6 p.m.—in all branches of work . . . except for technical reasons approved and endorsed by workers' organisations.

"(6) No children to be employed during their school years—i.e., up to 16 years. Boys and girls from 16 to 18 years should not work more than six hours a day.

"(9) Workers are not to be employed at a smaller wage than that legally fixed or advised by workers' organisations.

"(14) Superintendents of both sexes . . . to be elected by workers and paid by the State to see that all laws and sanitary regulations are implicitly obeyed in all trades."

But this was a long time ago; the Russian Socialists are now heading straight for Socialism, and for years past have been busily hammering out the programme and learning confidence in themselves and in it.

The educational value of a programme, which every new recruit to the Party must consider and accept, and every critic must discuss, is very great, and the Russian Socialist parties have not overlooked it. They have insisted that their members shall make up their minds as to what they believe and what they want.

In this country we have in the workers' movement a very large and very cautious body of people which always shrinks from taking any step that appears adventurous or new and which always seems to be looking out of the corner of its eye to find out what the capitalist Press and public is saying and thinking of what it does. There are also, both inside and outside the Labour movement, large masses of people who are vaguely revolutionary in their tendencies and always ready to criticise those in power, but who have never mastered any economic or political theory. Their criticism is purely personal; they believe that if only Mr. Asquith, Mr. Lloyd George, or Mr. Bonar Law can be turned out of office all will be well. Successive Ministries pass and re-pass; they are opposed to all of them, but never learn that their quarrel is not with the individual Minister, but with the system which he upholds. Whilst our people are largely divided into one or other of these two categories we shall not make much progress. A great educational work is necessary to open the people's eyes, to induce them to study Socialism, and to compare it with the capitalist system, the evils of which they now endure. Without the knowledge that such study will bring them, revolution would only mean a change of master, however successfully it might be accomplished; with that knowledge the people can do without delay all that they will.

The Russian problem is our problem: it is simply whether the people understand Socialism and whether they desire it.

Meanwhile, our eager hopes are for the speedy success of the Bolsheviks of Russia: may they open the door which leads to freedom for the people of all lands!

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

THE DREAM SPLENDID

We learn that our notice of the poems entitled the "Dream Splendid," by John Langdon-Davies, has caused some embarrassment to Mr. B. N. Langdon-Davies, to whom we attributed them. Also that a lady calling herself "R.E." writes the Civil Liberties Advice Notes, which we also attributed to Mr. B. N. Langdon-Davies. We did not intend to suggest that the advice notes emanating from the Council of which he is secretary were necessarily written by Mr. Langdon-Davies, merely to say that he has associated, in our minds, with such activities as those represented by the advice notes rather than with the romantic poetry from which we quoted. We regret to be obliged to snatch from the minds of our readers the idyllic picture of the secretary of the N.C.C.L. turning from the gruesome struggle with a coercive Government's encroachments to seek solace in the woodland solitudes of which Mr. John Langdon-Davies has written, but we are able to supply an equally piquant contrast in recalling to our readers the fact that Mr. Langdon-Davies is an assistant dough-maker, and can show honourable scars obtained in lifting plates of hot bread from the bakehouse oven.

ANTIQUES
For Genuine Old English Furniture and China
Mary Casey, 29b Lincoln's Inn Fields, W.C.2

Printed by the National Labour Press Ltd., 8 & 9 Johnson's Court, Fleet St., E.C.4 and Published by the Workers' Suffrage Federation, at their Offices 400 Old Ford Rd. Bow, E. Printed by T.U. labour in all departments (48 hour week), on Trade Union Made Paper.